

Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuni, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN

861 Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

868 Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *slit* seeds, pison nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

868 They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

[867] Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do this to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

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Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.

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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them ⁸⁶⁸ hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said."

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illness ⁽⁷⁵¹⁾ (p. 326).¹

When I [Minyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time ⁽⁸⁶³⁾ and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off. That is what they told me when I was as old as Lango [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I knew how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak."

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, ⁸⁶⁷ tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby."

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, ⁸⁶⁸ explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand-

¹ Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myth. The Sun's wife lay on her back taught by his father to run and to break branches [Hollister, *ibid.*, 201]. The Archaean-Apache's puberty custom is somewhat comparable [Dixon, *op. cit.*, 216]. Miwok and Southern Ii-tahvoo usually run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches [Lewis, *op. cit.*, 263]. ⁽⁷⁷³⁾ ⁽⁷⁷¹⁾

144 *People of the Blue Water*

869 shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes
224 of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made
[889] success more certain.

861 Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all
774 my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A
whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and
dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender
thing and easily hurt.

626 However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance
681 with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school,
spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was
ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may
have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal
superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka*
punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life.
One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel
a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a
smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp
from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his
soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accom-
panied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could
he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter
ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's
expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and
the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate
with sympathy those who did not conform to the established
pattern, socially or physically.

889 Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children
867 regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are
old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break
off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put
them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the
warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and
888 helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative.

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Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins.

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Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing."

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While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary.

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The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance.

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Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition

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Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right."

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Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game.

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Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim.

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A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual over-
tures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any
of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's
presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather
than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or
extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, com-
monly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic
isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities
to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry.
Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors,
other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were
in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated fami-
lies resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that,
ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When
girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would
result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has
broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today
come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close
neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract
Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play
groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have
been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meet-
ings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later
at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensibly rather than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them.

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A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present.

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A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mesquite, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories.

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Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home.

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"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries if deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe.

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Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted.

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At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage.

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Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex.

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867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B.A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

[548] In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence [896] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis. 578 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred. 156

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

562 While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai is, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

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181 A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls are firmly given more work to do than boys and are accorded more responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out the possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and such women were always exceptions.

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967 Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine position is an altogether undesirable one. It means, instead, that the feminine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them, but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her society and which from infancy she is discouraged from adopting. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women apparently learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

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The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

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In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

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Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

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